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author to say in the course of a criticism of Herodotos (p. 177), "Reviewers did not exist in his days, nor were marks of quotation, or even footnotes, as yet invented." As a matter of fact, Professor Sayce's writings, in spite of his great talents and services to Oriental learning, abound in mistakes and inconsistencies — the result of over-haste, and as it would almost seem of recklessness. Little space is left here for allusion to errors or doubtful assertions. On page 2 it is said that the Babylonian states were united in 2350 B.C. This is almost certainly a century too early. The matter is of importance here as bearing upon the date of Abraham. It is seriously stated (p. 38) that the 430 years of Ex. xii. 40 f. differs from the 400 of Gen. xv. 13, by "the length of a generation" purposely added. The term *abrek*, "seer," of Gen. xli. 43, can hardly be referred to the alleged "primitive non-Semitic language of Chaldæa" (p. 33), in view of the Assyrian root *barû*, "to see," and the Assyrian nominal termination. On page 116 it is asserted incorrectly of Sennacherib that the spoils and captives of Judah were the only fruits of his campaign in Palestine. On the same page, the statement as to Esarhaddon that "Manasseh of Judah became his vassal and the way lay open to the Nile," is quite misleading, since Manasseh was a vassal of Sennacherib also. On page 118 it is said that "Assurbanipal left Egypt in the full belief that it was tranquil." It is extremely doubtful if Assurbanipal ever saw Egypt. On page 128, the taking of Jerusalem is placed in 588 B.C. instead of 586. We notice also that Professor Sayce still persists in writing "dragomen" (pp. 123, 193, 273, 278, 286).

J. F. McCURDY.

The Empire of the Ptolemies. By J. P. MAHAFFY, Fellow, etc., of Trinity College, Dublin. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Pp. xxv, 533.)

It is eminently fitting that the first special and complete history of the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt should come to us from England, after her entrance into the inheritance of the Ptolemies. The problems which confront her in the administration of Egypt are in many ways like those which confronted Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Lagus. And there seems to be on the part of the English government the same marvellous perception of the best methods of evoking and enjoying the inexhaustible riches of this ever fruitful Nile-land, which Alexander first showed when he took it in willing lapse from the mismanagement of Persia, as England from that of Turkey. Ptolemy Lagus wisely adopted the methods of his great master, and established them so securely in the course of his long and successful reign that not even the degeneracy of his latest descendants weakened their hold upon this rich domain. They passed it over to the Romans. Romans, Saracens, and Turks have spoiled but not exhausted the patient land. Its frugal and laborious people, now as always really swayed only by religious masters, willingly pour the fruits of their toil

into the lap of the power which gives them the privilege thus to be swayed.

And perhaps no British subject is so well qualified as Professor Mahaffy to give us this history of the Ptolemies. He has not only passed in careful review the life and thought of ancient Hellas, but has made peculiarly his own the history of the expanding influences of Hellenism in Orient and Occident. His *Greek Life and Thought* sketched the history of the confused period during which the empire of Alexander, representing the principle of despotism infused with Hellenism, falls into ruins and is slowly absorbed by the empire of the Romans, representing the principle of independent self-government infused with Hellenism. During the convulsions of this chaotic period the history of the Ptolemies, especially after the first four reigns, hardly emerges from a safe obscurity. Egypt lies on the outer edge of the political maelstrom. It is not powerful enough or distinctive enough as a nation to influence the greater destinies. It can only watch their evolution and become the appanage of the finally greatest. In the brief sketches of the Ptolemies interspersed among the larger outlines of the *Greek Life and Thought*, Professor Mahaffy has already shown a predilection for this great family, and a tendency to tone down the dark colors of hostile criticism. He now subjects to more concentrated light the dynasty by itself, in the somewhat monotonous sequence of arithmetical succession, from Ptolemy I. to Ptolemy XVI. The attempt had not before been made, in its entirety, unless in encyclopedic monographs like that of Cless in the old Pauly. Here the material of the sources had been laboriously and ably compiled, but not fully weighed and sifted. Moreover, whatever fresh light can as yet be shed on the subject from excavations and explorations in Egypt, Professor Mahaffy is well able to control, both directly and indirectly, while as master of the secrets of the Egyptian *papyri* he is in position to make independent contributions.

He has really no predecessor in this particular field. Thirlwall's history closes with the destruction of Corinth. Droysen's monumental *Geschichte des Hellenismus* closes with the *Epigoni* at about the same time. Grote only glances at the careers of some of the *Diadochi*. Niese's able *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, of which only the first part has as yet appeared, does not pass beyond the *Diadochi*. From the fourth volume of Holm's brilliant *Griechische Geschichte* a brief history of the Ptolemies might be culled, as from Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought*, which appeared seven years earlier, but in both the distinctive outlines of the Egyptian dynasty are necessarily obscured by the larger careers of the more dominant and active powers. The attempt at separate and consecutive delineation was well worth the making, especially by one so well qualified to do it as Professor Mahaffy.

Now that he has made it, in a stately volume of 500 pages, one can hardly repress a feeling of disappointment, clearly felt by the author himself also, that the net gain to the subject is on the whole so small. This, however, is not the fault of the author. He has done all that can

now be done. He has sifted anew the old fragmentary testimonies, he has presented new points of view in various controverted questions, he has added all the information to be had from newly discovered *papyri*, and he has subjected formerly known Ptolemaic inscriptions to fresh inspection. He publishes in full, with helpful notes and suggestions, the decrees of Canopus and Memphis (the Sâh and Rosetta stones). To a grateful extent his book contains its own apparatus, and is not cumbered with useless references to inaccessible authors.

The book is thoroughly scientific in its careful estimate of sources. Neither Polybius with his dignity and weight, nor Plutarch with his grace and charm, are admitted to testimony without scrutiny of their natural bias. As specimen of new points of view in old controversies, the suggestion as to the assumption of the title of *Soter* by Ptolemy I. is worthy of note. "I therefore suggest that Pausanias was more nearly right than we have supposed, and that the title *Soter* may have been given at the time of the siege of Rhodes, not by the Rhodians, but by the Alexandrians to their king. They knew perfectly that he had risked but very little to help the island-city, and was now receiving extravagant thanks. They may have called him *Soter* satirically, owing to the great fuss made about a very lukewarm support" (p. 111). The new light obtained from the *papyri* is welcome but scanty. With hardly more than one exception it relates to the monotonous internal administration of a highly organized bureaucracy. The extent of the Ptolemaic nomes (p. 80), the fact that Ptolemaic law permitted imprisonment for debt (p. 149), the absorption by the dynasty of tax-imposts once ceded to the priests (p. 311), the legal business of the natives (p. 416) "pointing to the fact that law and order prevailed and that the rights of property were not disturbed," are deductions of average importance. Of wider range are the revelations as to the extension and irrigation of the lake province (pp. 172 f.). But almost no testimony regarding public affairs is given by *papyri*.

Dealing now with general impressions produced by the book, it may be noted that Ptolemy I. gains under the author's treatment, at the expense of his much more lauded son and grandson. More than the usual credit for the later glory and power of the Alexandrian Museum and Library is given to the sturdy old warrior and founder, and less than usual to Philadelphus. On the other hand, the achievements of the latter in internal administration gain in importance and extent, especially from the new evidence of the *papyri*. "There are indeed few kings, Hellenistic or other, who have left more enduring evidences of useful administration to posterity than the second Ptolemy" (p. 186). The third Ptolemy (Euergetes) remains the same enigmatical character as ever, in spite of all the author's fresh efforts. "Though we can thus give some details concerning a single isolated province in the reign of Euergetes, we are still left in darkness concerning the king himself" (p. 215).

In dealing with the long succession of Ptolemies from IV. to IX. inclusive, Professor Mahaffy succeeds admirably in preventing the dull uniformity

of badness and cruelty from obscuring all individual traits. In his treatment of the worst members of the line, — Ptolemy IV. and IX., — the author's efforts become distinctly apologetic. Certain passages in the book (pp. 147, 180) lead one to think that this apologetic tone has been taken in opposition to the merciless railleries of Holm. Holm can see no good even in the great Philadelphus. In Philopator (Ptol. IV.) and Physkon (Ptol. IX.) he sees the greatest monsters of depravity and incapacity. In their defence Mahaffy gently urges the evidence of the *papyri* to the regular internal economy of their kingdoms, and the evidence of the ruins to the fact that they were great temple-builders (pp. 272, 385 f.). It is true that the worse the Ptolemies became, the more temples they built. But it is one of the great fruits of Professor Mahaffy's present work that the reason for this apparent anomaly is now more clearly seen. As the Ptolemies withdrew from participation in imperial undertakings, and as their sway became more and more confined to Egypt proper, — a change which began with Philopator (Ptol. IV.) and culminated under Epiphanes (Ptol. V.), — there was less and less need of Hellenic mercenaries, less reliance to be placed on the Hellenistic capital Alexandria, and more and more need of native support. This was secured by standing bargains with the priesthood. Internal regularity of official machinery and great building activity simply denote the price which the monarchs paid the priesthood for being allowed to retain royal power. Under the first Ptolemies the revenues had been largely expended on imperial conquests, on Hellenic mercenaries, and Hellenic institutions of culture. The native population groaned under the burden, became restive, and at last revolted under the leadership of the priesthood. The weaker Ptolemies compromised with their subjects on the principle of Egyptian revenue for Egyptian religion. They abandoned much of their Hellenism, and became Egyptian, at least far enough to be allowed to receive and consume Egyptian revenue.

And yet it is well to remember, as Professor Mahaffy again and again reminds us, that the main literary sources for our knowledge of the Ptolemies are Greek, and partial to the Greek or Roman leaders with whom the Ptolemies came into contact. And it is doubtful whether any large material will ever be added to our literary sources for the history of the later members of this great family. They had no political history, only family intrigues for the retention of a dominion which had come to be managed as a family estate. They had long ceased to play for imperial power. They were content to collect and enjoy their revenues. They merely kept the machinery of taxation intact for their Roman heirs.

As the legitimate Ptolemaic line fades out amid family feuds and murders, and expires with Ptolemy XII., while the great Roman power is only waiting the proper time for openly appropriating the riches it had long secretly enjoyed, the apologist can single out only one figure — that of Lathyrus (Ptol. X.) — for scanty praise. "He is one of the series whom we should willingly know better, and whose virtues should be insisted

upon in the face of those who brand the whole dynasty as steeped in vice and crime" (p. 424). Then comes the bastard Auletes (Ptol. XIII.), "the most idle and worthless of the Ptolemies," Rome's puppet; and after him the Cleopatra of Cæsar and Antony, in whom flashed up once more the native vigor and ability of the line, even to the extent of planning an Oriental empire which should cope with Rome. For her, too, Mahaffy would fain say the best that can be said, and better than has yet been said. Here, too, and with right, he insists anew upon the fact that Cleopatra VI. is known to us only from sources inimical to her. Here, too, with less force, he reminds us that she was a great temple-builder. She, too, left treasures untold, and perfect machinery for amassing more. Even Augustus, when he had taken her property as his own, found no "abuses to rectify, or antiquated arrangements to annul."

Perhaps the closing sentence will illustrate better than further comment the general tendency, and, in the main, the successful achievement of the book: "Thus it may be that the recorded vices of the Ptolemies have so obscured their better qualities as to produce a picture permanently darkened, and which we can hardly hope to clear of its ugly shadows. But the achievements of that dynasty cannot be set aside. They were the ablest, the most successful, and therefore the most enduring of all the successors of Alexander."

In their estimate of the first Ptolemy, historians, even the most censorious, have been substantially of one mind. His figure, in consequence of Professor Mahaffy's fresh contributions, towers more imposing than ever at the head of his long line, unsurpassed, unmatched. The reader gladly turns from the last of the line to the first, and realizes anew the transcendent ability that could found in a conquered land a royal line to endure, in spite of its degeneracies, for two centuries.

B. PERRIN.

Ueber die Leges Edwardi Confessoris. Von F. LIEBERMANN.
(Halle: Niemeyer. 1896. Pp. vii, 139.)

DR. LIEBERMANN'S masterly monographs on the various law-books of the Anglo-Norman period follow each other in rapid succession. The *Consiliatio Cnuti*, the *Instituta Cnuti*, the *Quadripartitus*, the *Leges Anglorum*, *Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta*, and the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* are all models of critical historical research. Dr. Liebermann is gradually restoring to us the legal literature of the twelfth century; to use Professor Maitland's apt citation, "lagam Edwardi nobis reddit."

Of the seven law-books which have come down to us from the century following the Norman Conquest, the so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* ranks in importance next to the *Leges Henrici Primi*. The work was compiled about the year 1130. Like most of the law-books of Henry I.'s time, it was written by a foreigner, by some one not well acquainted with the English language. His Latin has a Gallic tinge. Probably he was an